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With regards of
Andrew H. Green

STATE OF NEW YORK.

No. 71.

IN ASSEMBLY,

MARCH 13, 1890.

COMMUNICATION

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FROM

ANDREW H. GREEN, ON THE SUBJECT OF A CONSOLIDATION OF AREAS ABOUT THE CITY OF NEW YORK UNDER ONE GOVERNMENT.

NEW YORK, March 4, 1890.

Hon. JAMES W. HUSTED,

Speaker of the Assembly:

SIR.—I have the honor to transmit to the Honorable the Legislature a communication on the subject of a consolidation of areas about the city of New York under one government, and am

Very respectfully yours.

ANDW. H. GREEN.



TRL

BINDING
NUMBER } 4563
OF 1899.)

NEW YORK, *March 4, 1890.*

To the Honorable the Legislature of the State of New York:

The undersigned respectfully represents that, at the session of the Legislature of 1889, a bill to create a commission to inquire into the expediency of enlarging the area of the city of New York, passed the Assembly and through various steps of legislation in the Senate, but in the last hours of the session failed to reach a third reading.

Its object was simply to authorize official examination of a very interesting and important subject.

Notwithstanding the measure failed to reach the final stage of legislative sanction, its progress up to the point advanced gives augury of growing favor and inspires the belief that popular sentiment, enlightened by study, is keeping step with the swift material tendencies of closer approximation of borders, assimilation of people, and identification of interests toward speedy and inevitable consolidation.

Having in view similar objects and advocating similar measures this communication is submitted, not with the intent of hastening a future, which, urged by the material influences referred to is already rapidly approaching, but rather of preparing with a proper sense of duties and responsibilities to meet it in the broad spirit which the magnitude of the subject demands.

While there are those reluctant to yield to the movement, there are but very few who deny its growing force and certainty of result, and the question which faces our population here is not whether we shall be drawn into closer union, but how and upon what basis such union can be best established.

It is the object of this communication to impress the importance of official inquiry into this subject, and its presentation is neither premature nor will it be in advance of time or events. It

is proposed to finally ordain nothing, but at present to go no further than to provide forms for authentic inquiry, to make record of objections and disadvantages no less than of advantages and inducements to nearer association, and to leave parties to the inquiry in the same free and uncompromised condition as before. It does not look to enforcement of any measure of consolidation against reluctant municipalities, but on the contrary affords time, place, manner and opportunity for emphasizing officially and authentically reasons and purpose of dissent, or if agreement is found desirable under any conditions, to suggest what those conditions shall be.

The proposed commission is to report the result of its examination to succeeding legislatures, which, if they see fit, may pass an enabling act under the provisions of which such of the communities as may desire so to do may form closer associations or still preserve their separate attitude.

There are those who look upon this measure with apprehension as the first step in the development of a new policy and in the line of movement ending in consolidation.

It is too late to take counsel from such misgivings. It is not a question of policy or of plans, but of progress of the law of evolution, no less natural or inevitable than the meeting of waters, which, fed by inexhaustible streams, first finding lodgment in separate places among various depressions of the surface, but rising higher with the growing inflow, surmount the barriers of division and become one.

The first step towards union of our peoples here was taken when nature grouped together in close indissoluble relation at the mouth of a great river our three islands, Manhattan, Long and Staten, making them buttresses and breakwaters of a capacious harbor, placing them in line of shortest communication between the great region of which Boston was to become the commercial center and the other great region of which Philadelphia was to become the metropolis, interposing mountains to the west and the sea to the east, obstructing any other path, determining by the same conditions which were to make, and have made, this the chief emporium of foreign commerce, that it was also to be, as it is, the chief *entrepôt* of domestic trade and preordaining that here was to be, as there is, the great city of the

continent to become in time the great city of the world and of all time.

These anticipations are not now for the first time advanced by me. As early as 1868, in an official communication in which various interests of the city were considered on the subject of consolidation of various areas about the city, I wrote as follows:

"It is not intended now to do more than direct attention to the important subject of bringing the city of New York and Kings county, a part of Westchester county, and a part of Queens and Richmond, including the various suburbs of the city, within a certain radial distance from the center, under one common municipal government, to be arranged in departments, under a single executive head.

"It would not be difficult to present reasons for such territorial consolidation that will increase in cogency as population augments and as facilities of intercommunication are developed to meet in some degree the demand of this population.

"More than one and a half million of people are comprehended within the area of this city and its immediate neighborhood, all drawing sustenance from the commerce of New York, and many of them contributing but little toward the support of its government.

"An area that could be readily described, of convenient distances from the center, would comprehend within its limits the residence, as well as the place of business, of most of its population; thus resolving the difficult question of taxation of non-residents that now exists.

"Each department would be ratably represented in a common legislative assembly, and the expenses of government would be apportioned, and borne by separate departments, and judicial, police and sanitary, powers executed under equal and uniform regulations. The existing public property of each department would be left to be applied to its separate indebtedness and improvement. It would be best, at the outset, to disturb but few existing officials; their offices should be left to expire with time, and with the general conviction that they were not wanted; all purely political questions and jurisdictions might remain as at present — the idea being gradually to bring, without a shock or conflict, the whole territory under uniform government.

"Can any one doubt that this question will force itself upon the public attention at no very distant period? Ingenuity is now taxed to devise methods of carrying people from the suburbs to the center, and the relations of the city with the suburbs are daily becoming more direct and immediate.

"The great procession that continually moves toward our city from the old world makes its first halt at Staten Island, in Richmond county, preparatory to its still western progress.

"Measures are now on foot to unite Brooklyn with New York by two magnificent bridges, which are but the precursors of others, and which are to supplement the thronged ferries. A system of capacious ways is already projected to connect the extensive parks that both municipalities are now engaged in adorning—each with its own characteristics and each with its own peculiar attractions.

"Westchester is demanding ways to transmit her population to the city; Richmond county, by her ferries and railways, is exerting herself in the same direction; all progress points toward eventual consolidation and unity of administration; the disadvantage of an incongruous and disjointed authority over communities that are striving by all material methods that the skill of man can devise to become one will be more and more apparent, and the small jealousies and petty interests that seek to keep them separate will be less and less effectual."

It is scarcely necessary to restate the manifest advantages to accrue to the population ultimately to occupy the territory to be comprehended in this consolidated area, from a plan conceived with full apprehension of its future physical needs, rather than from the results of the feeble action of various petty authorities. Observation of progressive development since the date of the above official suggestions assures me that I then read aright the promise of destiny, and that the legislative measure I have the honor to propose is but a step in inevitable consummation, supreme over considerations of transient policies or expediency.

If reason did not sufficiently explain that tendencies to further consolidation are irresistible, the fact would be shown in the actual advances made in that direction—advances by which approximating communities have already merged early rivalries and jealousies in union of forces for coöperative work, thus covering divided areas by one harmonious administration,

as shown by the annexation of three towns of Westchester county to this city, by the consolidation of Williamsburgh with Brooklyn and the proposed union of Long Island City and Flatbush with Brooklyn.

The various rivers, estuaries, streams, straits and inlets which thread our situation here, were once the frontier lines of barbaric jurisdictions of a vanished race. Our own people fell into that framing for a while, but as we grew in numbers and expanded, these ancient limitations ceased to be regarded. What was probably once a divisional line of aboriginal authority at the Canal street estuary has been effaced, and progress of a wider sway, by a more intelligent race, has marched into common possession of the divided areas. Advancing further, it has bridged the Harlem and annexed what was once the hostile dominion of the Raracas.

To the east of us the same new peoples have effaced the lines which in ancient days separated the districts upon which the growing cities of Brooklyn and Williamsburgh now stand, crossed the line of what is now Gowanus inlet and consolidated in one expanding rule all below. The movement still progresses, but we have yet our Sachems, great chiefs and small, who cling to the traditions of barbaric times, and seek to preserve their clans and clanships by fencing them out upon little lines of narrow demarcations against the gathering strength of popular dominion. But the encounter is one between the retreating forces of the tribal system and the coming forces of the coöperative system, between barbaric tradition and educated aspiration, to which there can be but one result, when the frontier lines of the Manhattan, the Montauks and the Raritans shall be obliterated, and New York, Brooklyn, Long Island City and Staten Island shall be one politically as they are already in every other relation. In this, future history will only repeat itself, doing here what has been done in London, Paris, Brooklyn, and Chicago, all of which cities have become great and prosperous, not alone by accumulation of numbers, within their first restricted bounds, but by expansion, annexation, and consolidation.

But few, even among our most observant citizens, realize the degree and number of governmental antagonisms by which civil administration around the port of New York is disorganized. The situation is strange and presents a subject for philosophic study. Occupied by what may be considered substantially one

people having common pursuits, views and habits of life, dwelling under the same conditions, participating alike in the bounties and privations of their region, drawing subsistence from the same source and impoverished by the same denials, there is probably nowhere another three and a half millions of people so thoroughly assimilated as the populations grouped about this port. There is thus in the world over, no other area of a hundred and fifty square miles whose welfare could be better promoted by one general administration, yet there is not in the world over, another like area so disturbed by multiplicity of conflicting authorities. The scheme is one which the observer may well pause to consider. It is divided up and parceled out among two States, four cities and six counties. I trust I may be excused for saying that the arrangement is a travesty upon government.

That these conditions have prevailed for a century without precipitating the anarchy inherent in them, is extraordinary. The relation of the various parties to the complex scheme have been often strained to the point of rupture, developing antagonisms for which, if left to the control of the many-headed municipal authorities, shrievalties, bailiwicks and townships which mottle the varied space, there was no arbitrament but that of the sword and cannon. Fortunately at this stage, extraneous authorities greater than our own intervened to enforce peaceful solution. This has been done in the instance of the controversy between this State and New Jersey upon the subject of controlling the navigation of the Hudson river. The controversy between a mayor of this city and other authorities upon the subject of the appointment of police commissioners, and the extent of New York police protection reached a stage of disturbance very nearly, if not quite, beyond the control of the municipal authorities. The burning of the quarantine buildings at Staten Island, by the resident citizens, was a proceeding of tumultuous character, and resulted from the circumstance that these persons had no voice in the counsels which inflicted the nuisance upon them.

The disposition to rebel against existing dismembered authorities is further illustrated by a project once advanced by Jersey City to be set off from New York as an independent port of entry and by her successful resistance of the scheme to have passengers from foreign ports landed at the barge office on the Battery. Recour

to extraneous authority for internal redress should be a proceeding of last resort, and is never employed without some infraction of domestic right and public decorum.

Could prescience have devised at the beginning of our settlements here, that these islands which form our port were to be in the short period which has elapsed the dwelling place of two and a half millions of people, and have received the assurances conclusive to us, that in thirty additional years there would be not far from two and a half millions more, the scheme of development would have been cast on a scale vastly more comprehensive and the authority over the entire situation would have been reserved to one municipal administration. If this was ever true, its truth is more impressive now than before and must become manifest as time passes.

There are some spheres of administration whose proper regulation is most vitally important to the common welfare and which can not be apportioned out among different territorial authorities. The navigable water system of the port belongs in common to all the cities and towns and counties of the port. Its development and protection is the concern of all, but under existing arrangements is the duty of none. It provides for us not only approaches from abroad and from our far interior, but constitutes for us locally a system of natural canals of superior excellence serving alike all the municipalities involved; by which canals may be transported bulks and tonnage of freight so immense as to preclude their movement by other methods.

It is a misconstruction of terms and things to define as barriers or divisional lines the means by which communities meet and mingle; by which merchants and business men of one near shore are enabled to employ upon the other necessary utilities not found on their own; by which bankers, merchants, professional men, laboring men and women equaling in number the entire population of other large cities, pass daily to and fro to offices, stores, houses, factories and residences; by which on festive days, holiday boats gather from schools, churches, guilds, labor unions and other societies upon either shore, and from all the towns their contingents of pleasure-seekers to enjoy the reunion of common citizenship, as moving upon these waters they pass in review the splendid scenery of their common possession; by which, in the neighborhood of the ferries, there is established

between New York and Brooklyn not only communication but communion closer and more intimate than is found existing between the eastern and western water-fronts of the metropolis, and by which Staten Island is placed in closer relation to the battery districts of New York than it was formerly possible to establish between that district and Harlem or Morrisania. Though geographically separating them commercially and socially, these water-ways and natural canals really unite all the municipalities, and it is perversion of thought and policy to regard these bonds of union as symbols of division, and to find in the paths by which we are united the lines by which we are all separated.

This misconstruction of the relation of our water-ways to the local situation; this failure to recognize, though we abundantly use them as local canals, relegates their custody to the irresponsible charge of all without permitting them to the special concern of any. The water-front of no municipality here belongs to it to be extended, filled in or aligned as its authorities may determine. This front has relation to the water-front of all the other municipalities. Artificial change in one section creates by natural operation change often prejudicial in another. The action of tides and currents is so subtle and inscrutable as to baffle inquiry of the most expert, and injuries to one remote section are untraceable to what are considered improvements in another, except by the circumstantial evidence that they are contemporaneous.

We are building anew yet, and some margin of discrepancy may be allowed to the energies of development even when carefully directed by such advisory authority as is empowered to suggest method and direction, but our water system is subject to that spoliation and perversion which proceeds covertly without semblance of any warrant or official direction whatever. The rogueries of garbage and mudscow boatmen in making the channels dumping place for all sorts of waste are past finding out. From Sandy Hook to Yonkers all the shore and all the water space is open to lawless enterprise. Every little district has its marauders, who by encroachment, appropriation and misuse, deplete the general system to transfuse its vitalities into some niggard scheme of individual profit.

Parasite companies, usurping the name of giant corporations, stake broad lines far out in this common domain and bid the waters come no further and they obey.

The right of way to the south and to the capital of the nation, once as broad as the southern shore of the port, is practically narrowed to two road-ways and it is but a question of stock jobbing when they shall be merged into one. It was thought this monopolistic array was broken by the advance to the water-front of a new and competing line by Staten Island. So strongly were the older companies entrenched in their lines of water-frontage, and so strong their grasp of all agencies for organizing popular sentiment, in the local press, town councils and legislatures, that the new Baltimore and Ohio road was enabled to perfect its route only by intervention of the national government, overruling the protests feigned in the interests of State rights and local freedom, as uttered by hired claquers of public opinion and officially formulated by subservient authority, yet no sooner does the new road, by a bridge across the Staten Island kills, chartered by Congress, reach our shore, than it too is seized with the frenzy of riparian acquisition, and is now before the Legislature of New York, with a proposition seeking charter to deliver Staten Island and her belongings into the universal railroad trust.

What this shall mean the people of Richmond county will learn when expanding population and growing business shall make indispensable the provision of additional ferries and the opening of new streets to the water-front, or when rebelling against unendurable impositions, all our populations, here shall desire the chartering of new trunk lines from this port to the interior to compete, in the interests of all private rights and economies, which are the units of public right and public thrift, with the exactions of colossal and all-pervading monopoly.

Actuated by selfish motives, all private interests tend to consolidation and trusts. The only interests which refrains is that of our unselfish, thoughtless peoples, and their fatuous municipalities, which in broken form, carry on desultory and futile war against the organized forces of relentless and absentee capitalism, resident in Boston, San Francisco, New Orleans. London, Paris or Frankfort, voting by proxy or loaned stock in secret corporate directory, and determining for us what we shall do with our own, or whether it shall be our own, taking from us the meat of butchered freedom and leaving us the skin and bones to be taxidermed into living semblance and imposed upon our many-headed municipalities as life form and substance of true original

heaven-born liberty, for our various mayors, supervisors and councilmen with their henchmen and heelers to apostrophize and adore. All society, at least our society here, may be considered as classified in regular forces, which, animated by intelligence, move in concert upon fixed plans to definite purpose, and guerilla bands which, without design, or concert, or ultimate aim, skirmish weakly and vainly against the advance of superior organization. The corporate powers represent here the regular force, and our divided municipalities though invested with responsibility of protecting all that belongs to the people in the sphere of civil administration represent the guerillas. The continuance of this relation between the corporate power and the power of the people, depends upon the length of the period during which we shall choose to maintain the attitude of municipal disseveration, and refuse to assume that supreme mastery of the situation which union of our people alone can secure.

Some assuagement might be permitted were depredation and encroachment confined to the shores, but the same abuse of privileges and misuse of power mark the path of the corporations at the interior point where they enter our municipal jurisdictions and along its entire progress. We are as inadequate to discipline or propitiate the forces which usurp control over approaches from the interior by land, as over terminals at the water front. Popular right is still subordinated to the corporate power. Without taking counsel with the resident populations who, in the order of things might be considered most interested, the great corporations make their approaches without question of lines, of terms, of method of operation, or public interest to be promoted, or of restoring in the interest of public health and convenience, surfaces which their embankments and excavations have thrown out of relation. Ignoring city plots, grades or topographical outline which mark adaptations to other business than their own; they force their way through, above, below or around, as cheap instinct may best prompt, forecasting forever lines of abnormal development or desolation, character of future growth or decay, nature of industry and employment for large areas in the limits of our various cities, often wantonly making the havoc of neighborhoods the visible sign of their power and presence. If there are any who dispute their right, there are none to resist their might. Some village or town, or minor city may cry out against sharper

pressure, but their troubles are not of concern to disassociate neighbors. One by one they are encountered in detail, and in detail over-mastered. Occasionally a fresh and heroic figure embodying the authority of his bailiwick and resenting its wrongs rides a tilt at the colossus, which simply waits, as one to whom all things shall come in time.

The business of transportation, the assemblage of the various products of the country from north, south, east and west, and their manufacture and redistribution is that by which our commercial cities live and thrive. The roads are indispensable to all the cities and towns here, and we might in time become accustomed to their tyrannies, repair their ravages, and go on in our divided way as before, did not new apprehensions urge more strongly than ever concert of action to meet a fresh deployment of the railroad forces against our whole position in the relation in which we have considered it impregnable. The new demonstration indicates a purpose to divert from us by new routes constructed and contemplated upon independent lines a portion of the business heretofore converging at New York, a matter which will be examined further on in a part of this communication which discusses the geographical and commercial relation of this port to tributary regions, and institutes a comparison between the forces of foreign and domestic trade as factors in the business and progress of this city. It is farthest from my intention that anything that is here written shall be taken as indicating hostility to these modern forms of corporate contrivances, by means of which such vast results have been achieved in the development of our country and in furtherance of the interests of mankind, especially when they have as an object the facilitating of the transportation of persons and property. They are the marvel of the age in which we live; experience shows, however, that they must be regulated and controlled by governmental intervention.

But there are other matters of common local concern which require a common authority for their regulation. The atmosphere which envelopes the situation, together with the waters which surround and penetrate it, supply the conditions which determine the health of all our communities.

Upon these elements it is impossible to fasten municipal jurisdictions. We can not parcel out the air among us nor partition the fleeting tides. In defiance of enactment by council and mayor

of one city malaria will evolve from the limits of another, float thence upon the free winds, and precipitate into the general inhalation distant patients, exotic microbes, bacteria, and all variety of poisonous germic life. The procession of tides marches through the limits of all the municipalities, impartially collecting and distributing everywhere offal and sewerage loaded with contagion. Each community has done full duty to itself in injecting its smoke, stench and sewerage into another province or mayorality so that some of our people live in the interchange of reciprocal nuisances or medley of conglomerate nauseas.

The police arrangements of our several municipalities are inefficient for general service to the exact degree in which they are subordinate to different authorities. The laws and ordinances are substantially the same in all our territorial divisions. Yet their enforcement is intrusted to four different police boards and as many different police systems. Law-breakers, rogues and criminals ignore city boundaries in their proceedings and are cosmopolitan, as should be the forces for their discipline. Disorderly persons in large numbers often resort to some neighboring district with slender population and overpower its small police force, in whose behalf no other force is allowed to interfere. Separate jurisdictions in the divided areas thwart and impede administration of justice in its various fragments. A criminal escaping from the locality of his misdeeds to another has made a step to entire immunity or to such confusion and delay in legal processes as renders them virtually inoperative. The expenses of the various police organizations are augmented in the same ratio as that in which the value of their services is diminished. Not many years ago the cities of New York and Brooklyn united their health and police departments in joint administration. For these the lines of municipal jurisdiction were effaced. The duties of both departments were admirably discharged under this arrangement. It is quite probable they were administered with too close regard to the order and health of the associate cities to suit the views of some engaged in pursuits and occupations which were best promoted by neglect of sanitary law and civil order, or that the joint administration conducted by a single board and staff, dispensing with a portion of those necessary for a double service, diminished public disbursements and lessened the official consequence of some public retainers.

While there was nothing in the experience of this association of the two cities in these departments of administration to justify doubt of their greater efficiency, there may be drawn on the other hand conclusive evidences that more intimate and thorough association of the two governments, in all departments, would greatly promote the welfare of both communities. They would not therefore be entering upon an entirely new field in combining once more for coöperative work. It would be reasonable to suppose that in compensation for the obvious sacrifice which this material isolation entails, some great and manifest advantage were to result, yet it is not possible to discover any and it is difficult to imagine any. There prevails among some Brooklyn citizens an apprehension that consolidation with New York means the merger of the smaller city, yet the desire to be merged is manifested and promoted in every way but by that which will accomplish it.

The citizens of Brooklyn are among the most active, enterprising and successful men engaged in business in the metropolis. They are bankers, brokers, railroad officials, government clerks, merchants, lawyers, journalists, laboring men, truckmen and others of all variety of employment, taking as much pride in the progress of the larger city as in their own, conscious that the prosperity of one must promote that of the other. Her eminent lawyers have more business in the New York courts and at the city hall than in their own. Her streets are lined with spacious mansions whose cost has been defrayed from profits of New York trade. Her residence localities are nearer the official quarter of the metropolis, in the Battery district, than are the residence localities in the larger city, and this silent but potent fact will ever have, as it always has had, conclusive force with or without legal enactment or recognition to determine features of common policy and mutual coöperation. By every expedient which ingenuity, capital, and inclination can devise, Brooklyn strives to get nearer to and to be identified and merged in the metropolis. The bridge across the East river was an enterprise of Brooklyn's initiation and constructed mainly at her expense. Other bridges, tunnels, and new ferries are contemplated by her citizens to make the merger more complete. Reviewing what Brooklyn has done and deliberately designed to do in her efforts to establish closer and more complete relations with New York, it is pertinent to inquire if the attitude of political separation maintained by her has promoted or retarded

the work? There can be but one answer to the question. Had the cities been one, communication between its different wards by bridges or tunnels across or under the East river would have been established years before it was effected, all would have been reciprocally benefited, and points and places which yet wait the forming touch of progress would have been brought into the circuit of established improvement.

New York, too, has her misgivings in regard to the doctrine of consolidation, but is at the same time pursuing a policy which recognizes and promotes it. There was a business tradition, still surviving, to control what is called conservative opinion, that all commerce traffic movement which did not originate in the lower quarter of the city and find shipping, storage, sale, and dispatch there, was conducted beyond the line of legitimate business and in derogation of the rights and privileges of their "High Mightinesses" of the ancient Amsterdam company, and that consolidation with the other shore means diversion to annexed districts of commercial advantages not properly belonging there. Yet the merchants of New York have been first in this work of diversion, first in the work of commercially habilitating the adjoining district and in making its utilities their own. The water-front of Long Island, from Astoria to Bay Ridge, is largely owned, developed, built upon and used by New York merchants—the docks are frequented by ships, the warehouses filled with merchandise by their order; New York merchants, bankers, working men, own lots, blocks, and larger areas, embracing many acres in Brooklyn which they develop and pay taxes on, build railroads, houses, and labor to promote the growth of the city as zealously as if they resided there.

In the days of small beginnings, when population was small and traffic light, there was some apparent reason for declining to distribute the advantages which each separate district thought itself in some special matter and manner to be able to control. It was then held that there was not and would not be a sufficiency of commercial benefactions to justify expansive bestowal, but these benefactions are shown to be illimitable, not only enough for all, on whatever scale we may provide, but crowding upon us in such volume that their accumulation will exceed provisions for dispatch however rapidly we may hasten it.

The strength of opinion adverse to union is believed to reside in the official class, in politicians and officeholders. These on both sides of the river apprehend diminution of their number and some diminution of influence under the change. To weakling aspirants for public honor this fear may be well entertained, but should inspire no concern to stronger natures who will find in larger fields ample reward and fame. Under all conditions each community or sections of a community must have in general assemblage its official contingent, which parts with none of its influence or individuality in combination with others. There is no principle so well understood and theoretically and practically adopted in political management, as the justice and expediency of allowing to each portion of the general population and to each district its due share of the general administration, and the apprehension that any less populous district may lose its influence by annexation to a larger, is based upon ignorance of the theories and methods of elective governments and party management.

The reflections thus far suggested refer more particularly to matters of present importance and to existing conditions, but a view of the situation would be very incomplete which did not give a glance to the future and suggest inquiry into the fitness of our scheme, as now formulated, to answer all the ends of civil administration of a community to be as much more populous expanded and wealthy, in contrast with our conditions now, as these last are in contrast with those prevailing fifty years ago. Plans for inaugurating what may be considered a new era, in the plotting of cities with relation to new methods of transit, now being introduced, new methods of illuminating, warming and ventilating, the enlarged and improved plans of domestic architecture and of public buildings, the adaptation of certain districts for certain uses, their fitness for manufactories, docks, warehouses, residences, bridge-terminals, ferry landings, reservoirs and railroad stations and parks, may with advantage to ourselves and to those who are to follow be now carefully studied and projected.

The cities of this port have grown up in entire misapprehension of the forces of their development. It is the belief now, as it has always been, that they owe their prosperity to the excellence of their harbor attracting foreign shipping to its shelter, but it can be demonstrated that foreign commerce has been no more than an auxilliary to the forces of domestic traffic centering here. There

is what may be termed a certain pageantry and poetry in the process of foreign commerce, which attract the eye and confuse the judgment, when these processes are compared with the more prosaic methods of domestic production and exchange.

The port of New York is easily first of all our continental ports in the value, bulk and variety of foreign productions landed at her docks, and first in the value of exports, and to this circumstance is supposed to be due the fact that we are the chief of our manufacturing cities and the chief domestic market.

Properly construed, however, the relation of forces is exactly reversed, and we are made the chief emporium of foreign commerce, for the reason that we control by virtue of our routes to the interior the domestic market. It is well that we should appreciate this, so that in our eager effort to secure the secondary advantage we may not be led to sacrifice the primary. Defined by the character of the greater portion of her production and exchange, New York may be said to be an interior city. By the last census it appears that the value of the manufactures of all the cities of the port considerably exceeded the value of the combined foreign exports and imports. When it is estimated that foreign merchandise has employed no labor here, has paid no wages in our community that much of it is simply shipped through the port in bulk to remote destination, and when it is taken into consideration that the assemblage here from our own interior of crude commodities employs large amounts of our capital, that its transportation to this point calls for the aid of home labor, its manufacture calls for the aid of another labor army, and its redistribution in perfected stage still calls for another equal force of merchant's, clerks, laboring men, porters and carriers, and when it is further manifest that the ground structures and material facilities required for the preparation and dispatch of these commodities constitute an immense share of the assessed wealth of the community, we can not avoid the conclusion that the forces of development pertaining to our domestic business are vastly stronger than those of foreign commerce. New York, Brooklyn, Staten Island and the cities of Hudson county, New Jersey, constitute substantially the port of New York. In 1880, as appears by the census, there was paid out in these cities wages to manufacturing labor not far from the sum of \$126,000,000. Adding to this the wages paid to labor in handling

these commodities before as well as after manufacture, and in their final dispatch to ultimate destination, we may approximate the amount of aggregate sums disbursed locally in our purely domestic business. To the degree in which our foreign trade falls short of disbursing a like sum among us in its various phases, to that degree is it a minor force in providing for us employment, substantial wages and all the elements of communal wealth. Newport in our near vicinity has as fine a harbor as our own, and Norfolk a better, yet they are but little else than summer watering places. They are situated beyond the line of interior domestic movement, and can not conveniently be made centers of domestic trade, without which no position can ever become commercially dominating. The great cities of the world and of history are and have been interior cities. The historic cities of Asia and of Egypt are interior. Rome, the most populous and powerful city of her day, had no foreign commerce as we now weigh that word. Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Moscow, Madrid, Brussels, Pekin, Cairo, Mexico, Lima, Santiago, the largest cities of their respective nationalities, are interior cities. London is sixty-six miles from the straits of Dover, and over three hundred from the Atlantic, and owes her immensity to her interior position, where the bridges across the Thames placed her in early times in communication with the areas which the river had divided and made her a domestic thoroughfare. Liverpool is situate far out of the line of direct communication with the open sea, and is reached by ships engaged in foreign trade only by long detour of dangerous navigation in the days when Liverpool established herself as chief emporium of British-Atlantic commerce. But though located at the point of deepest intrusion of a gulf of the Irish sea and thus remote from sea routes she is by the same arrangement made a centering point of commerce for land routes, through which all communication between Wales and South West England on one side and North England and Scotland must pass, and here in front of the great industries of Lancashire she has grown to be the mistress of British-Atlantic commerce. The British port which reaches farthest seaward to receive foreign shipping is that of Falmouth, but the situation is peninsular, having remote communication with the interior; is territorially isolated, with no possibility of being made a domestic market, and the conveniences of the port are in consequence disregarded by passing vessels which pursue their voyage three or

four hundred miles further to reach the London and Liverpool centers. Foreign commercial movement as governed by the superior forces of interior domestic movement is no less distinctly manifested upon our shore. Boston is by no means the best and most accessible harbor in New England, but is situated at the deepest intrusion of the sea along that portion of the coast where it narrows to bridging compass, and thus enables first communication by land between the areas which up to this point the sea divides, making it a thoroughfare between these areas; a general point of assemblage, a central domestic market, and by relation to these conditions the metropolis of its region and the emporium of its foreign trade. Coming south, the line of commercial development avoids the splendid harbor of Newport at the mouth of Narragansett bay, and builds in Providence, at the head of this bay, at a point inaccessible to heavy foreign shipping, the second of New England cities; thence it proceeds southwardly on line of shortest communication to the pass between the mountains and the sea as defined by the termination of the Catskill range at Jersey City, and the approach of the sea to the mouth of the Hudson, and here in this gateway, between the sections, it creates New York, making it the chief center of domestic trade and by relation the chief center of foreign exchange. Continuing southerly, foreign commerce does not seek the most accessible and commodious accommodations on Delaware bay, but rather appears to avoid them, and proceeds in long and tortuous navigation to the farthest reach of that estuary, to find at Philadelphia, most attractive resort, a city which grew to its present magnificence from the circumstance that the domestic movement, north and south, found shortest communication through the position, after the impediment of the Schuylkill river had been neutralized by bridge. Foreign commercial movement, still controlled by the same law, avoids the nearer and more commodious accommodations of the Chesapeake bay, and pushes on for 250 miles to those most remote and of least accommodation at Baltimore, located at the most westerly advance of that bay, at a point through which interior movement is compelled to pass, thence proceeding, to avoid the obstruction of the broader Potomac, it crosses at the head of tide-water, constitutes Alexandria and Georgetown the centers of domestic trade of that region, and so of foreign commerce, and finds at the end of navigation, for small craft, the

James river at Richmond, a situation best adapted to the uses of a central domestic market, and creates there the chief foreign market for an immense and fertile region, leaving unemployed at Norfolk the best harbor of our coast. There are thus great cities without harbors and great harbors without cities. There are also great cities without any foreign trade whatever, and of those which do have large external commerce, it will be found in all that the volume of interior trade vastly excels it.

New York was once situate at the single point of convergence of superior routes, from many regions upon which interior trade and travel was compelled to concentrate, but these conditions exist no longer. The business of transporting freight and passengers is progressive. Improvements have been made in road-beds, rails, cars, stations, locomotives and bridges. Notwithstanding natural advantages, New York can not afford to neglect the equipment of her routes, or allow them to be inferior to other routes laid upon lines independent of her, upon lines which do not touch her position, upon lines constructed for the express purpose of diverting her trade—yet that is exactly what we do allow, and is just what many champions of public welfare strenuously advocate. When the route now constructed between Boston and Philadelphia and their relating regions by way of Poughkeepsie bridge shall be in full operation, and the route now under construction between districts heretofore tributary to us, shall be completed by a bridge crossing at Peekskill, the unbridged line by New York will be discriminated against to the extent of fifty cents of passenger fare and an hour's dispatch, thirty cents per ton on freight, and possibly days in dispatch. The entire relation of the city to some of the most affluent tributaries is changed.

Whether we shall have the best or worst roads to our sources of supply depends upon the view we take of the construction of a bridge across the Hudson river at this point. Apart from the importance of such a structure as perfecting communication with remote tributaries, it is indispensable as a local convenience. Further, an area in New Jersey, comprising a circuit drawn twenty-five miles from our city hall, is a population equal to that of Kings county, of which 50,000 persons go and come daily to and from the metropolis. In every relation but in that of political jurisdiction, this area is a suburb of New York. There are, moreover, so many enterprises for remodeling the business of

the city, and its movment, such as the widening and deepening of Harlem river for the accommodation of the canal-boat fleet, the concurrent improvement of the ship passage through the Sound and Hell Gate, with a view of making the upper portion of the city a resort for foreign ships coming in by way of the Sound ; and the completion of the Baltimore and Ohio route, which opens a new route south for Brooklyn and New York, that a strong guard must be thrown out to protect against disturbance, the old line of freight and travel dispatch upon which many hundreds of millions of dollars have been expended in various agencies, accessories and accommodations, and which constitute an immense share of our wealth and business.

The great cities of the west are growing by the influence of interior trade. Chicago presents some features in her development which we may with advantage study. It is generally held that this great city owes her prosperity to the opportunities of Lake Michigan, but if conditions be rightly construed it will be found that it is more due to the obstruction by the lake to the projection of roads through any other point. For a breadth of nearly five hundred miles the lake system prevents the construction of trunk lines over the area into which its convolutions enter, and it is only where the obstruction ceases at the southern limit of Lake Michigan, where Chicago stands, that the delayed routes find transit, and speediest communication is found between the States of the northeast and northwest. In this arrangement will be found the chief strength of the position, while the lake having served its chief use as a barrier to other land routes has in an auxiliary way supplied a capacious water route. Had the lake been a river easily crossed by bridges through its entire length, Chicago would have been distributed in attenuate settlements along all its banks instead of being massed in gathered strength at its head. As it is, her position is made impregnable to the north by nature, and the energy, enterprise and intelligence of her people have rendered its southern front equally so. The position of New York is still more commanding if its relations be intelligently examined and maintained. The sea serves for it the double service of obstruction to any other land route between the American areas which the sea here separates, and affords at the same time opportunities of its world-reaching water routes. To the

east therefore the situation is impregnable. There is no reason why it should not be on the west. This is the line of shortest communication between our northern and southern regions, and the line directed through this point passes in all its extension over surfaces most easily reducible to economic transportation and travel. These conditions are not, however, so strong by nature that they may not be flanked and turned. Neglect to develop and improve natural facilities of transport may prompt, as they have done, competing routes upon lines remote and independent of us. The Hudson river and the parallel mountains have heretofore been guides for all movement to this point and guards against movement elsewhere, but have ceased to serve us so absolutely in this character. Engineering skill has reduced the impediments of the mountains and bridged the river far above this position, and there is already in successful operation a road powerfully organized which will divert to its lines an immense business heretofore dispatched upon our routes. Other roads and bridges are chartered and contemplated, all of which will to their capacity undermine and supplant as *entrepôt* between sections heretofore unavoidably tributary to it. With the construction of a route equipped with a bridge crossing the Hudson above us, our unbridged line may soon cease if it has not already ceased to be the one of cheapest transport and travel, and though it still remains the shortest it is not perhaps of quickest dispatch. We are therefore brought to a point in our progress where we must compete for the elements of business of which we have had until now undisputed control.

The evidences cited of the superior influences of domestic trade in the development of great commercial cities, and of their capacity to draw to their centers through many impediments foreign commerce and its ships, should impress the truth that neglect of our domestic routes involves the smaller use of our sea routes; that a diminution of the strength of the position as an *entrepôt* of domestic trade correspondingly diminishes its strength as an emporium of foreign commerce.

It is not impossible that some competing intelligences demonstrating upon other lines, and some coöperative ignorance demonstrating upon our own, may in time bring about the result that New York shall be operated in the chief relation as a seaport and

serve to some interior position the secondary use that Hamburg renders to Berlin, that Havre renders to Paris, Southampton to London, Vera Cruz to Mexico, Valparaiso to Santiago and Callao to Lima. Intelligent citizens of all the cities of the port will in time understand, however, how disastrous such tendencies must be to all their interests, and unite in common policy to conserve the conditions which have made us primarily the first manufacturing community, have centered here the chief continental domestic market, and by this relation alone has made this the principal seat of foreign commercial exchange. This common policy cannot, with best advantage, be advanced by the loose municipal formations in which we permit ourselves to be divided, but by presenting a consolidated front to all rivalries. In combined strength we are adequate to any encounters. Division exposes us to the vicissitudes of incoherent plans resulting in possible defeat, and to the certainty in any event that the fruits of whatever victory we may secure will be less ample and satisfactory.

This review of the situations involving considerations of the relative strength of foreign and domestic agencies in the maintenance and progression of our intermunicipal schemes is essential to proper understanding of the work before us, and is submitted with the design to suggest that in planning for the city of the future, there should be provision for all the domestic and interior agencies by which alone great cities live, that the adaptations of certain areas to specific uses such as factories, docks, bridges, terminals and markets, should be now examined so that progress may deploy in symmetrical lines. In plotting the surface for occupation by the incoming peoples, the situation covered by our several municipalities must be treated as a whole and single area. Proper lines and general configuration of land and water spaces hold relation to each other which can not, without loss of accommodation and symmetry, be ignored. These adaptations have not been studied in the multifarious schemes upon which development has so far been variously made and which in some respects are inadequate to the needs of the future as are the arrangement of streets, alleys, courts and places of the lower portion of this city to the business conducted there at this day. Were that section now open to such projection as should best economize space, promote conven-

ience, and insure dispatch, the arrangement would be quite different. Efforts to correct existing faults have been costly and but partially successful. Propositions to widen Church street and extend it, to widen Nassau street, to extend Wall street westerly, and Centre street northerly, are samples of many measures yearly presented to the consideration of the authorities, but are forbidden by the immense cost which would attend them. The expansion of the city has made necessary more ample and expeditious transit between the widening areas than were needed fifty years ago, but this, though only partly secured, has been effected by severest exercise of public right and power over private property and privilege. The first settled portion of Brooklyn was plotted with no comprehension of the great city of which it was the nucleus. The development of Long Island City and Staten Island have been made upon lines different from those which would have been approved had projectors appreciated their future use. What has been done can not be undone, but a lesson may be derived from experience; we can learn that in the work of building up towns, it is more difficult to correct the past than to open up the future and so arrange our plans with regard to future need, that there shall be fewest faults to correct.

There are some considerations pertinent to the subject, which, referring neither to its material or official aspect, are yet more important than either. Organized for contention, as the arrangement here is, it develops issues for which, in the absence of any arbitrament among ourselves we are compelled to resort to the authorities of the State and Nation for adjustment, which other American communities differently situated, are enabled to reach without such extraneous recourse. Complexities requiring solution by State or Federal intervention must increase in number and intensity as approximation brings nearer together the forces of difference, at the same time increasing, as the years go by, the number of participants and insuring to the movement of these larger masses, the character and energy of popular tumults. Appeals for intervention on the part of the citizens here, familiarity with it, and the habit of exercising it by authorities not local, create in all quarters a misunderstanding of the relation between citizens, municipalities, State and Nation. Based throughout all its lines of foundation upon the principle of self-government, every appeal for interven-

tion and every exercise of intervening authority is a denial of the validity of that principle.

There are none more prompt than our citizens in all this vicinity, to criticise and take exceptions to the employment of extraneous authorities for internal redress, but a fairer and more reasonable view would direct criticism and censure to the conditions of our making, out of which must inevitably proceed the contentions and issue which render intervention unavoidable. I desire here to impress the consideration that a state of affairs becoming chronic is dislocating our theories and practice of civil administration as understood elsewhere in this country, and is ripening to that consummation which will vest all authority for the regulation of the cities of this vicinage in bodies which they neither elect or control or advise.

Moved by influences easily recognized, there has been for many years a growing tendency among modern people to mass themselves in cities. It may be explained in the increase in the variety, quantity and value of manufactures produced in cities, and the release from the farm of many whose labor is now accomplished by the employment of machinery, and the larger fields of daily supply opened by modern transportation. To such a degree has this tendency of populations to the cities proceeded, and so many novel questions of policy are presented, that a new problem arises in governmental science, and the government of great cities has become a new study of paramount interest. However divided upon minor topics, the American people cherish the faith that this problem will find solution in the adequacy of every community to govern itself, but to accomplish this it is a self-evident proposition that every harmonious community, one by circumstance of vicinage, by daily personal intercourse of its members, by identification of interests, properties, pursuit and aspiration, should be endowed and invested with authority for its own control, and not dissevered into varied forms of multiple governments, which imply and create in their very conditions, differences and misgovernment.

It remains to be said that the question of government of great cities is nowhere else brought to such conspicuous trial as it now undergoes in this single commonwealth of divided municipalities. Great as our interests in this result are, they are trivial in comparison with those which our example will affect through this

country, the world and history, and without exaggeration it may be said that we owe to ourselves, to all our countrymen, and perhaps even to mankind, to eliminate from this test of popular institutions now proceeding, all unnecessary factors of disturbance, and allow the principle of self-government fair demonstration for acquittal against the incompetencies which factitious conditions of multiplicity of governments in the same sphere have heretofore made it subject of reproach.

Experience of the past and revelations of the future inspire the belief that the time has now arrived when new methods of administration on broader scale must be adopted to meet the wider and still expanding situation, and that the measures, which I have the honor to submit, is but signal of an inevitable and imminent future and admonition to prepare for its coming.

ANDW. H. GREEN.

GLICK
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